TELLS THE FACTS AND NAMES THE NAMES

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A Brief Word on the Awakenings

By Alexander Cockburn

Wadded up in our intellectual backpacks, ideas that should be explosive get damp and moldy. Too often, we leftists slog along history's highway with stale, uncombustible stuff.

Heading into 2011 we give over this issue of our newsletter to Mason Gaffney's bracing excursion through America's Great Awakenings. To many on the left the topic of religion these days is explored overwhelmingly in terms of quavering alarums about the Christian right. Gaffney challenges this patronizing perspective.

Readers will note references to Henry George, a leading thinker, writer, and political activist when Populism was new and later, as it merged into Progressivism. He began as a muckraking San Francisco journalist documenting the outrageous railroad land-grant scandals. He moved to New York and rose to fame writing for *The Irish World* on land monopoly, rackrenting and political suppression in Ireland. He taught himself classical economics and published his classic *Progress and Poverty*.

George held that we can right the wrongs of the land-grant giveaways most simply and expeditiously and legally by levying heavier taxes based on the value of land. He taught that in the absence of such taxation the original unequal distribution of land would simply magnify itself, leading to the kinds of extreme class divisions that menace us today.

History springs endless surprises. Jeff Halper suggested as much in this newsletter, two issues ago, apropos Israel and Palestine. Now Gaffney challenges us to think freshly about the intellectual and religious motors of our history and future. On into 2011 with fresh stuff in our backpacks! **CP**

Expect to be surprised, and expect it fairly soon: the several calamities of President G.W. Bush and the fumbling of President Obama have opened the doors for a new alignment.

How Religious Awakenings Presage Radical Reforms

By Mason Gaffney

Before there were a U.S.A. and a First Amendment, church and state were intertwined in Western Europe, whence came most of our traditions. Kings and cardinals vied for primacy, but joined in overawing and dominating others. Both royalists and clerics were major landowners, at the tip of the geocracy. They worked together to rationalize and sanctify landownership based on conquest, chicane, fraud, slavery, debt slavery, prison labor, male chauvinism, imprisonment, ethnic bias, genocide, murder by burning, drowning, torture and other barbaric acts, witch-hunting, primogeniture, entail, confiscation, exile, etc. Missionaries supported imperialists abroad, and shared in their power and wealth, even owning slaves. Centuries of struggle against Islam shaped Christian fanaticism, especially in Spain, Austria and Russia, and less extremely in all the Crusading states.

At home, however, heretics were more dangerous than infidels. Ruling geocrats feared and persecuted egalitarian heretics like Anabaptists, Diggers, Levelers, Lollards, Hussites and Taborites, Albigensians, Waldensians (Vaudois), Bogomils, Cathari, Donatists and Circumcellians, Humiliati, Poor Men of Lyons, Calvinists, Puritans, et al. Calvinists in France evolved from an early alliance with laborers to a later alliance with merchants and probably industrialists. They recognized saving as a virtue worthy of reward. From there it has been too easy to slip into an alliance with landowners.

Rome coopted successive new grassroots monastic orders into acting as Roman agents: Cluniacs, Cistercians, Benedictines, Carthusians, Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, et al., went through somewhat parallel evolutions from their ascetic, abnegant, pietistic origins in protest against clerical ritualism, hierarchy, luxury and wealth. Troubadours and *Minnesingers* could distract and bypass censors with tales of romance and scandal and tragedy, arts that flourish today, but fail to prepare the ground for practical reforms. Jews, carriers of the parent religion with its egalitarianism, wrapped in its own language and mysteries, made a special and important case, too complex to sum up fairly in a few words. The Crusades bred Chivalric Orders, some of which went into banking and grew too rich and powerful for their own survival.

On the good side, churches tempered the harshness of class exploitation with charity, welfare and education. Cynically, however, one might see it as a good cop/bad cop act. The education inherently entailed some self-enhancement. Churches sought a monopoly of this, as the Vatican did more recently under its 1933 concordat with Hitler. Currently in Alabama, many conservative Southern Baptist Churches are at war with Christian tax reformer Susan Pace Hamill who would make state taxes less regressive, in ways that churches could not control and cap

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as they can their voluntary "charity." A federal counterpart is former President George H.W. Bush, with his "thousand points of light" to displace Social Security and other Federal welfare programs.

Again, on the good side, church texts (to the extent laymen can and will read them) abound with egalitarian and distributive sentiments, as in Exodus and Leviticus; as in The Prophets, especially Amos and Isaiah; and, as in the Gospels of Jesus. There have been dozens of utopian colonies with some such religious basis, from the smallest sects up to regional powers like Puritan New England, Quaker Pennsylvania, and the Mormon State of Deseret. Religious blacks have likened themselves to Hebrew slaves fleeing Pharaoh. There were, of course, currents and countercurrents, rebellions and repressions, reforms and reactions, filling many tomes. Struggles inside and among churches mirrored class struggles in politics, a series of long and fascinating stories.

The First Great Awakening

We begin our story here, in the English colonies of North America, with the Great Awakening in the frontiers and backwoods, from about 1740. These regions were relatively unchurched. Established eastern churches monopolized seminary training (many of today's leading universities originated as seminaries), but the demand for preachers exceeded the supply of educated ones, so nearly anyone moved by the spirit, or even by earthlier motives, could set up a church. So, naturally, there was an element of protest against established churches and the society they represented, and anti-intellectualism accompanied protest, as did a growing sense of American unity. Revivals transcended sectarian barriers. Traditional differences waned; pluralism and tolerance waxed. Revivalism came out of many churches. The colonies soon owned a common religious experience, one that prepared the way for the common identification necessary for a successful revolution.

Democracy was another byproduct of this ferment. The Awakening elevated the common man and woman. Religion now extended far beyond the wealthy, as in Virginia, or the church member, as in New England. All persons, regardless of wealth, status or education, could find religion. Sinners could put the past behind them, in an instant of conversion. The revival made experience the definitive factor in faith, the self-authenticating religious "experience" of being "saved," or "born again," or baptized, "washed in the blood of the lamb." Evangelicals sought and welcomed newcomers and gave them status: all souls were equal in the sight of God. Anyone could be pious and spiritual, and judged by that merit. Piety did not necessarily entail being abstemious or humanitarian. Tobacco and whiskey and pelts were major frontier products. Hunting, fishing, and Indian-fighting were basic activities. As to personal habits, the frontier produced and reveled in tobacco and whiskey.

The Awakening also fostered the idea of separating church and state. Emphasis on a personal conversion meant individuals could find salvation. A specific church- or state-recognized corporate body was dispensable. Theologically, the Awakening led to an emphasis on the subjective, the personal conversion, not the institutional church. Just how far this went depended on the evangelist. Jonathan Edwards, famous frontier spellbinder, was a college man himself. Yet, he said he would "rather have one word, one sentence from the Word of God, behind his conversion than all the theologians of the last 1,000 years giving him an interpretation of his experience." Jonathan Edwards was actually quite intellectual, but he excelled at playing on emotions. His "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God" is a classic of hellfire and damnation, with no hint of his scientific interests. If Edwards was just a tool of the eastern establishment, opiating the masses, he did a very convincing job of it!

The Awakening may have renewed interest in missionary work, but frontier people were at the cutting edge of conflict with Indians, and bitter about it. Some eastern geocrats supported the Indians in order to close the frontier and keep cheap labor at home. As a result, bigotry against the aborigines was a dominant feeling, at odds with the sophisticated tolerance more fashionable on the eastern seaboard.

The Great Awakening played a main role leading to success in the American Revolution. Britannia ruled the waves and occupied our eastern port cities, but never the hinterlands, where they lost many battles and skirmishes. After losses down south at Cowpens and Kings Mountain and Eutaw Springs, they had to retreat, ultimately to the trap at Yorktown. Frontiersmen completed their victory in the Jeffersonian revolution that unleashed westward expansion from Hamiltonian constraints.

Jefferson was a Piedmont geocrat himself, positioned to link East and West, North and South. Religiously he was a Deist, an intellectual. But as author of the Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom, and then the First Amendment, he confirmed the autonomy and legitimized the preaching of frontier primitives – at that time meaning Baptists and Methodists, in large part. He started the secularization of higher education by founding the University of Virginia and West Point.

History has its ironies. Jefferson and his First Amendment liberated Baptists from old mainline churches and established the separation of church and state. It was a new concept then, being vigorously contested today by Southern Baptists. (Church-owned buildings remained tax-exempt, along with churchyards, church cemeteries, and now commercial cemeteries, church parking lots used once a week, and church speculations "for future expansion.")

The Second Great Awakening

The Second Great Awakening, ca. 1810-60, reached its peak in "burned-over" western NY and northeastern

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Ohio, territory that the Erie Canal opened for a new wave of more intensified settlement. It led to a strong Women's Rights movement (Seneca Falls Convention, 1848), Mormonism (which left New York but flourished out west), the Church of Christ, the Disciples of Christ, and, above all, Abolition, leading to the Civil War. John Brown became the tip of this iceberg. Women were prominent: Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* and Union troops marched to "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" by Julia Ward Howe. Irish Catholics rose in public esteem with the successes of dashing General Philip Sheridan, until in 1870, at the First Vatican Council, Catholic leaders under the embattled Pius IX, with seriously flawed timing, chose the moment to declare the Pope "infallible." This stirred up anti-Catholic fears that were to undercut Sheridan, and submerge Catholic influence for a generation or more.

The Third Great Awakening

The Third Great Awakening came on the heels of the Second, as this spent itself in the failure of Reconstruction and the excesses of robber barons in the age of rage for transcontinental railroads. The Civil War had drained the East of capital: it was no time to commit more to laying tracks and strewing scarce capital over 2,000 new miles, but victorious Northern capitalists undertook to do so anyway. This folly led to the great crash of 1873, the long ensuing depression and deflation, and the Populist Revolt, whose leading spokesman was Bible-thumping William Jennings Bryan.

Religiously, prairie and Southern Populism also spawned the Social Gospel movement, active missionary work, and several new denominations. This Social Gospel was more intellectual and less radically emotive than earlier Awakenings: professionalism and science (and scientism), for better and worse, tempered grassroots populism. Progressive theology was an uneasy amalgam of the Social Gospel Movement in the dominant Northeast and fundamentalism in the South and West. The Dwight Moody Bible Institute of Chicago still represents progressive fundamentalism in the big cities. One of its graduates, Archer Torrey of Jesus Abbey, was an outstanding Christian and Georgist missionary in Korea.

Progressivism tempered radicalism by allying with new colleges funded by robber barons. The Chautauqua movement extended science and culture to the masses. Imported German ideas of *Sozialekonomie* swayed the new American Economic Association. Some new academic economists, like R.T. Ely and J.B. Clark, joined in to burnish their credentials as liberals, even while focusing their efforts on sabotaging the single tax, which was otherwise a pillar of Progressivism.

In the Civil War, Baptists had split North and South, a division that has never healed. Northern Baptists produced extremes like the arch robber baron John D. Rockefeller and the liberal theologian Harry Emerson Fosdick, but the more numerous Southern Baptists defended and idealized antebellum society and its mores: "Old times there are not forgotten." After the war they defended Jim Crow, lynchings, heroic memories of Confederate soldiers, Old Dixie culture, country folk music, and the Democratic Party. Bankrupt Southern farmers linked arms with Western ones, and with labor unions, socialists, Fenians, and a variety of native and continental radicals. These Populists then merged with more temperate professionals and urbanists to form the Progressive Movement that dominated American politics briefly but memorably, 1902-18, and echoed thereafter.

Most people, including most historians, have no inkling of how many cities and states adopted "magnetic" tax systems, featuring large Georgist elements, during this Progressive Era and in the 1920s as well. These include Houston, San Diego, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, Seattle, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Toledo, Pittsburgh, Newark, and New York City itself. Los Angeles, for good measure, nearly elected a socialist mayor, Job Harrington, in 1911. San Francisco did elect Mayor E.R. Taylor, whom George's biographer Charles A. Barker credits with having helped, more than any other person, Henry George to write *Progress and Poverty*, and whom history credits with having led San Francisco's astounding recovery from its earthquake and fire catastrophe of 1906. Even more remarkable, Vancouver, B.C., led all American cities in its adoption of Georgist tax policy, and the speed of its growth. Donald Reeb, a Georgist scholar from SUNY Albany, has documented how both cities and states depended more heavily on the property tax in the Progressive Era than ever before or afterward.

Some Catholics sought to join the Populist revolt. It was high time: most Catholics were blue-collar newcomers, among the most exploited Americans. Irish Americans were boiling with resentment against the Protestant Ascendancy, the name for the landlords in Ireland. Rome, however, was preoccupied with combating the *Risorgimento* in Italy and retaining the Papal States. (From 1846-78, Rome – the Vatican – meant Pius IX aka Pio Nono, longest-reigning pope in Church history. Winds of change buffeted him for decades, making him doggedly conservative.) To court English support in Italy, as well as to maintain its standing in the worldwide comity of landownership, Rome accepted Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland, undercutting the serious land reformer, Michael Davitt of County Mayo, in favor of the temporizing Charles Stewart Parnell. Parnell was a landlord himself and a constitutionalist who favored mild and cosmetic reforms to take the rough edges off landlordism. Marital infidelities

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made him an awkward choice for prudish Rome to support, yet court historians have whitewashed his faults and elevated him to the patron saint of Irish land reform. Such were the rewards of moderation in the pursuit of justice.

In America, Rome reined in radical Irish-American movements. In 1867 and later the Fenians invaded Canada. Rome under Pio Nono disavowed them, encouraging President Andrew Johnson, who had tolerated their open organizing, to send American troops to cut them off from behind.

In 1880, before *Progress and Poverty* became a bestseller, it was George's book *The Irish Land Question* that first rocketed him to fame and popularity. Michael Davitt seized on the book and its analysis. Patrick Ford, editor of *The Irish World*, publicized it and hired George to visit and report on Ireland, where the Brits raised his fame by arresting him for no particular reason. So it was Irish Catholic Americans who coalesced as his political base. Terence Powderley, leader of the Knights of Labor with 700,000 or so members, endorsed George and, in 1886, supported him when George ran for mayor of New York, where he won most of the free Irish vote – "free" meaning independent of Tammany and the Roman Catholic hierarchy, which fused against him.

An outstanding leader emerged in the form of Father Edward McGlynn, the most popular priest in New York City. McGlynn founded the Anti-Poverty Society with a program parallel to that of Henry George, only more consistently radical. McGlynn defied the Catholic hierarchy by supporting Henry George's campaign for mayor of New York City in 1886, giving George the biggest vote he ever had. McGlynn tried to make American Catholicism virtually independent from Rome. Archbishop Michael Corrigan told him to cool it, but McGlynn did not fold (as Powderly and Ford did). McGlynn was defrocked, then refrocked, then exiled, in complex opaque maneuvering that ended with Ultra-Montanism (Roman control) triumphant over McGlynn's radical "Americanism" for the Church. Conservative American Catholics sided with Rome on this matter.

The McGlynn episode makes a fascinating story. The unhappy byproduct, in Fr. Gilhooley's view, was that the American church was left "slouching toward 'theological hibernation.'" The Irish ethnic political bloc was confirmed in its introverted machine politics, and split away from Georgist reform. The Church was returned to "prudent and safe men" who left their members "inert." That did not mean, however, the end of Catholic reformism in American politics, as we will see, for, in the process of suppressing McGlynn, Pope Leo XIII published a landmark encyclical, *Rerum Novarum,* 1891, reviving Thomism from the 13th century, to be activated later in the 4th Great Awakening, that of the New Deal Era.

Emphasis on a personal conversion meant individuals could find salvation. A specific church- or state-recognized corporate body was dispensable. Theologically, the awakening led to an emphasis on the subjective, the personal conversion, not the institutional church.

After 1918, Progressivism slowly faded away. Women got the vote, then proceeded to elect Warren G. Harding. Hiram Johnson and Robert LaFollette and Charles Evans Hughes won lots of votes, as Teddy Roosevelt had, but Nicholas Murray Butler and Andrew Mellon took over the GOP. Socialist Gene Debs won a million votes for U.S. president, even from a jail cell, and Communism in Russia thrilled some progressives but led to Red scares and the deportations delirium of 1920 and The Immigration Act of 1924 and the long reign of J. Edgar Hoover. Clarence Darrow drove fundamentalists underground in the Scopes Trial, but the big loser was the Populist leader, William Jennings Bryan. Prohibition won but could not be enforced. Gambling in stock and real estate became all the rage, eclipsing the Social Gospel and social reform. Church influence declined, over both personal behavior and social concerns.

The Fourth Great Awakening

The 4th Great Awakening could not well come from Protestants. Old-line church members had grown too rich or secure: they lined up with wealth and power. Fundamentalists, shamed at Dayton, Tennessee, shied away from politics. The 4th Great Awakening was a Catholic Awakening, mostly Irish, and the first to succeed. Ethnically, it was an echo of the repressed awakening of 1880-1900.

Irish Americans, during their period of "theological hibernation," had quietly infiltrated American culture. Finley Peter Dunne's "Mr. Dooley" commented satirically with deadly precision on real politics; *McClure's Magazine* published Lincoln Steffens, Ida Tarbell, Upton Sinclair, and other leading muckraking reformers of the times. More permanently, grudge-bearing Irish Americans took over two vital institutions: the American Catholic hierarchy and city political machines. The defeat of James G. Blaine's 1884 campaign for U.S. president revealed the great leverage of a few angry Irish NYC Catholics over national elections. The Rev. Samual Burchard, supporting Blaine, unwisely tagged Democrats as the party of "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." The reaction in Manhattan was severe. Manhattan tipped New York State, which tipped the nation to Grover Cleveland, because New York had many more electoral votes than any other state.

The lesson was not lost. To win, one had to court the Irish-American vote.

Meantime, throughout the Progressive Era, Catholic city machines and the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the North had kept radicalism under control. Father (later Monsignor) John A. Ryan published *Distributive Justice* in 1916, but it followed *Rerum Novarum* and, therefore, was not a new departure. Rather, the morning star of the new Catholic Awakening was Governor Al Smith of New York. He was originally a Tammany wheel horse, but he broke free, reformed NYC's property tax in a most effective Georgist way, starting in 1921, just as Progressivism was declining elsewhere. To do that he overcame heavy pressure from the Roman Catholic hierarchy, allied with mortgage lenders like the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company (Met Life) and the NY Real Estate Board. Smith then went national and won the

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Democratic nomination for U.S. president in 1928.

But small-town Protestant Americans, not free of fear and bigotry, buried him and chose Hoover, soon to be buried in turn by the Great Crash and Long Depression. These calamities left traditional Protestant leaders looking obsolete and confused in their celluloid collars with their empty slogans and truisms. There ensued the 4th Great Awakening, the First Catholic Awakening. It was a breakthrough, for better or worse, for long-suppressed American Catholics.

FDR, the leader, was a pedigreed member of the old Hudson Valley Dutch geocracy, but he was also a veteran New York politician: no one needed explain to him the imperative to win Catholic votes.

In 1931, Pope Pius XI unleashed a new encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno* (referring to the 40th year since 1891 and the *Rerum Novarum* encyclical issued by Leo XIII). Unlike the latter, which it followed closely, it was a smash hit. There were at least two differences. One was the timing – 1891 was a year of boom and prosperity, the Mauve Decade, when laymen had all the answers, when the sweet incense of unearned increment hung heavy in the air like a pheromone, sedating flighty minds that might otherwise be questioning the social compact; 1931 was the opposite – people who had thought they were rich and secure were shocked, hurting badly, and seeking new answers.

A second reason was the new radio priest, Fr. Charles Coughlin of Royal Oak, MI. Coughlin had mastered the new medium of radio well before FDR, whom, in fact, he taught. He picked up the ball from Pope Pius XI and ran with it. He merchandized "Quadragesimo Anno" as few such heavy essays were ever sold. By the time of the 1932 elections, Coughlin was the most familiar radio voice in America, people knew what an encyclical was, and what the pope would teach them.

Professor Raymond Moley of Columbia University, a prominent Irish Catholic layman, was the buffer between Coughlin and FDR. Coughlin helped elect FDR in 1932, and FDR let him think he would be a power in his early administration. As Coughlin's star rose, he became the new Catholic spokesman, replacing the Catholic Governor Al Smith, who had signed the 1921 Georgist law letting New York City exempt new homes from the property tax for 10 years. Raymond Moley and Coughlin together wrote FDR's 2nd inaugural, including "Let us drive the money changers from the temple" – vintage Coughlin. (FDR kept a careful distance from Coughlin, recognizing his unstable psyche, which was later to undo him. Coughlin, splenetic at what he construed as betrayal, was to turn against FDR. So did Moley, although he, too, had avoided public identification with Coughlin.)

Irish Catholic laymen like Moley, James Farley, Joseph Kennedy, Frank Murphy, and James Byrnes gained great power in the early New Deal, as did also Monsignor John A. Ryan of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, an organization whose boring innocuous name masks its hardball political function. Their best-known product was the National Recovery Act – NRA (often written NIRA, for National Industrial Recovery Act), known by its logo, the Blue Eagle. NRA was a cartelization of American industry, supposedly modeled on Aquinas' ideas of merchant guilds, elaborated in *Quadragesimo Anno*. The Agricultural Adjustment Act was the farm counterpart. NRA died, but AAA survives under other names.

Religiously, prairie and southern Populism also spawned the Social Gospel movement, active missionary work, and several new denominations. This Social Gospel was more intellectual and less radically emotive than earlier Awakenings.

Another Irishman, Joseph Kennedy, savvy rumrunner questing for respectability, led the new Securities and Exchange Commission. Generally, FDR depended on votes from big city machines, many of them run by Irish Catholics, and wove their views into his policies. After Louis Howe died in 1936, FDR picked "Boss" Ed Flynn of the Bronx to become his chief strategist. Flynn urged FDR to the left, but still followed signals from *Quadragesimo Anno*. Raymond Moley had pushed business cartels, a policy inherited from Herbert Hoover. Moley wanted to limit competition and let trade associations regulate prices, wages, quality of goods, etc., on the model of medieval merchant guilds but led by a corporate state (he admired Mussolini). That was NRA, but it didn't work: it choked off production and recovery. Note that these price controls were floors, not ceilings like later controls. Moley's idea was to keep prices up, not down.

In 1937 came the "submerged depression," a depression within a depression. FDR, recognizing trouble, reversed field and turned to reviving competition and anti-trust policy. Moley left in anger. Coughlin, increasingly erratic, was discredited and suppressed, even by Pius XII who had negotiated the compact with Hitler. FDR picked Catholic Ed Flynn, boss of the Bronx machine, to replace deceased adviser Louis Howe.

Flynn, a left-wing Catholic, pushed the Wagner Act empowering labor unions, modeled roughly on Aquinas' craft guilds. (Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York was a Catholic, too – not Irish, but no one's perfect). After the failure of cartelization, FDR exhumed trust-busting led by Catholic Tommy Corcoran, Jewish Ben Cohen, and vigorous Thurman Arnold, a nominee of Catholic Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming. Now the idea was to revive free markets, lower prices, and raise wages. The Tennessee Valley Authority set about forcing down power rates. Several allied programs had the same impetus. Associate Supreme Court Justice Owen Roberts switched from opposing to endorsing FDR's programs, belatedly giving more power to his Jewish colleague Louis Brandeis, a Wilson appointee who had labored for years in the minority. Recovery commenced, when World War II struck and eclipsed domestic policy.

In Europe, the history of *Quadragesimo Anno* was unfortunately bound up with the growth of Fascism. Mussolini's "corporate state" supported and was supported by *Quadragesimo Anno.* The Lateran Treaty of 1929 sealed an alliance of Mussolini and the Vatican. More generally, most of the fascist dictators of Europe were cradle Catholics, weaned on *Rerum Novarum*, and later on its sequel, *Quadragesimo Anno*: Antonio Salazar in Portugal, Francisco Franco in Spain, Adolf Hitler in Germany,

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Benito Mussolini in Italy, Arthur Seyss-Inquart in Austria, Monsignor Jozef Tiso in Slovakia, Ante Pavelic in Croatia, Admiral Miklos Horthy in Hungary, Marshal Philippe Petain in France ... it is a long list. Many American Catholics supported the rebellion of the clerical fascist Francisco Franco in Spain and Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia, keeping America neutral for years. It took Hitler's megalomaniacal overreaching, and, finally, Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor to sway America to the English side, pitting American Catholics against continental Catholics – another of history's ironies.

The spirit of the New Deal was to end abruptly. No sooner did Japan surrender than "our gallant fighting friend," Stalin's Soviet Union, became again the atheistic "Red Menace." Even during the war, FDR had dumped Henry Wallace for milder Harry Truman – although Harry was strong against monopolies. American prewar "isolationists" became interventionists, but now on the other side. Ambitious generals spoke seriously about invading Russia again (as we had in 1918-20, when fear of Bolshevism trumped and terminated the Progressive Movement). American troops overseas (this writer among them) did not cotton to this idea, not at all!

Americans regrouped to support the new Cold War. The postwar reaction at home gradually turned fierce. The reign of terror of Catholic Senator Joseph McCarthy was off and running, along with the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) under unreconstructed racist John Rankin of Mississippi, and local witch-hunters like Jack Tenney of California and turncoat Sheridan Downey. Red-baiting Richard Nixon unseated long-time coop leader Jerry Voorhis, and prepared to defeat Helen Gahagan Douglas with the slogan, "She is pink right down to her underwear."

Truman, now a full-bore Cold War crusader, turned to European Catholics as the new bulwark against Communism. If they had cooperated with Hitler, all was forgiven now – Uncle Sam needed them badly. "New occasions teach new duties; time makes ancient good uncouth." The Marshall Plan poured billions into rebuilding continental Europe under new Catholic leaders of Christian Democratic parties – leaders like Alcide de Gasperi, Konrad Adenauer, Robert Schuman, Carlo Sforza, and Luigi Einaudi (only Ludwig Erhard of the *Wirtschaftswunder* was a Protestant). Was this to be the end of Great Awakenings?

The Fifth Great Awakening

Remarkably, though, all this time there was seething underground a new Catholic liberalism, suddenly to erupt in the 2nd Catholic Awakening, and America's 5th. It began in Rome with Pope John XXIII (1958-63). It broke through in America with our election of President JFK (1960), it gained momentum in Rome and worldwide with the Second Vatican Council (1962-65). LBJ, who succeeded JFK after the assassination and was a Texas Protestant (Disciples of Christ), continued and even magnified JFK's policies. He picked up and ran with Catholic Michael Harrington's 1962 book, *The Other America*, turning it into his "War on Poverty," part of "The Great Society." Between the time of FDR and JFK, America lost five million of its six million small farms, weakening the stand-pat rural and small-town ethos. Dorothy Day's Catholic Worker houses grew in number and favor, more radical than the earlier meliorist settlement houses of Protestant Jane Addams in Chicago and Jewish Lillian Wald in New York. Popular Catholic Sargent Shriver headed the successful Peace Corps, with enough success to run for vice president in 1972 (although the effort by then was doomed).

Barriers between Catholics and Protestants began to leak, if not crumble. This writer never forgets the thrill of marching arm in arm and hand in hand with priests and nuns down main avenues in Milwaukee in 1965, in support of civil rights for blacks and social justice for all. Suddenly the communicable human race was doubled! The 1960s were an extraordinary time of Awakening all around. Chief Justice Earl Warren (1953-69) handed down a memorable set of new liberal opinions. Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., a Southern Baptist, inspired millions and led the "Second Reconstruction" of the South, more successful and lasting than the first, after the Civil War. King's economics was populist, Georgist, and Gandhian – a lot to swallow – but carried along in the baggage of civil rights for blacks. Cesar Chavez was organizing field labor and signing up thousands of idealistic college students. More thousands joined the Peace Corps. Rachel Carson published *Silent Spring* to great applause, triggering an environmental movement that even Nixon was later to join.

Women's Lib flourished along with the pill and new sexual mores, affecting people of all faiths. Popular troubadours turned from saccharine love and marriage songs to ballads of social significance from the Weavers, and social rebellion from the Beatles. Girls were burning bras and taking pills; on French beaches they were sunbathing topless. Prudery was out; bikinis were in. College dorms were going coed, even sharing bathrooms. *Playboy* and *Hustler* were standard reading material. In 1969, 500,000 people camped at Woodstock to celebrate the Age of Aquarius. The 1969 Stonewall riots in New York City sparked the gay revolution. Wasn't that a time?!

It was too good to last; inevitably, the pendulum swung back, as pendula do. Survival of the Roman Catholic Church as an institution took priority over the liberal ideas of Vatican II, as priests and nuns drifted away. Vietnam gloom fell, to divide Catholics and shatter the dreams. The macho Texan in LBJ could not back away from a shooting war. Paranoids and jingoes popularized the "domino theory." Catholic imperialists could not give up the converts the French had made in Vietnam. Cardinal Francis Spellman of New York became the new American Pope, and led the charge to recover Vietnam from godless Communism. (Spellman looked back more than one swing of the pendulum. He tore down the portrait of Fr. Edward McGlynn in McGlynn's old church, Saint Stephen's, and expunged all records of McGlynn from the archives. Down the memory tubes of history went the Anti-Poverty Society and the Henry George connection!)

Catholic boss Richard Daley of Chicago unleashed brutal police attacks on young demonstrators, Catholic or otherwise, at the 1968 Democratic Convention in his city. Social conservatives of all faiths were alarmed and offended, and, perhaps, a little frightened, by newly liberated sexual "deviants," the boastful exhibitionism of Hugh Hefner, the universal use of contraceptives and the growing acceptance of abortion.

Pope John Paul, from 1978, led his Church back to traditionalism. Cardinal Ratzinger (now Benedict XVI) quashed

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"Liberation Theology" in Latin America. Richard Nixon, Lee Atwater, and Karl Rove seized the times to assuage deflated segregationists with a new "southern strategy" that broke up and won over much of the solid Democratic South, allying it at last with Spellman's and Daley's Catholics. A new right-wing fervor seized the nation, only briefly delayed by Nixon's fall at Watergate.

The Sixth Great Awakening: Will There Be One?

When and whence will come the new Awakening, if ever? History tells us it may take 40 years to appear, and it will most likely come out of left field, as a surprise, with a new leader – a political genius or juggler who realigns old forces. It will follow a crisis. It will involve the Bible. Established mainline churches and intellectuals will despise and resist it. The various calamities of the G.W. Bush administration and the inability of Obama and his team to solve the resulting problems and make jobs for Americans certainly provide the needed crisis, although it is taking time for its gravity and permanence to sink into the American psyche.

How about blacks? They are suddenly part of the establishment, at least in part. MLK Jr. had an inspiring socio-economic philosophy, an amalgam of George, Gandhi, and the radical Jesus, working from within the Southern Baptist Church. But after him, black leaders have settled comfortably into their own establishment, either tepid and meliorist, like our current president, or "extremist" and divisive like his former minister in Chicago. Barack Obama, the "change agent," followed economic leads from the same old hand Larry Summers, whose main qualifications were family connections, accommodating Wall Street, and skill at self-aggrandizement.

The Southern Baptist denomination still carries the seeds of its leading role in the Populist Revolt. It is aggressively evangelistic and missionarian, with constant personal salvation crusades and altar-call ceremonies and public full-immersion baptisms of nubile girls in full public view in huge fish tanks set in the back wall above the altar. It has become the biggest American church today, sweeping from the old South up through the prairie states to form the Bible Belt. Billy Graham became a serious religious leader, consulting with presidents. Its growth and power leads Kevin Phillips to write that the Southern Baptist Convention, once the Confederate state church, is now the American state church. But it also carries the seeds of its Civil War origins as the church of slavery, and its postbellum role as the carrier of antebellum tradition and resistance to Reconstruction. There is talk, even if it is just hot air, of repealing the 14th Amendment. Southern Baptists have turned "right-wing Christianity" from being the ridiculous oxymoron, which it obviously is, into a common journalistic phrase.

It has its left wing too; but, in 1979, fundamentalists seized control of the Southern Baptist Convention, the controlling body. It retains elements that are anti-urban, racist, nativist, xenophobic, and anti-scientific, leading a prominent Southern Baptist, Bill Moyers, to lament of the Southern Baptist Bush administration, "the delusional is no longer marginal." These views might seem like quaint eccentricities, but they are part of a Gestalt tilted against the social gospel, public schools, social insurance, fair tax policy, environmental protection, consumer protections, bank regulation, anti-trust policy, intellectuals, or science. They have allied with Nixon, Reagan, the Bushes, seemingly against their own economic interests, to form the "New Republican Majority," as Gingrich and others called it.

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At the fringes of this new center of American religion have been once-submarginal phenomena like Jerry Falwell and his "Moral Majority," Pat Robertson's actual campaign for U.S. president, and a long list of spellbinders, including Bebe Patten, Jimmy Swaggart, Paul Crouch, Jim and Tammy Bakker, Ted Haggard, Gene Scott, James Dobson, … a long roster, with new entries annually.

And yet, working within this nest of apparently willful ignorance and reaction and chauvinism (both male and military), we find in darkest Alabama a beam of sunshine in a lady law professor and radical tax reformer, Bible-reading Methodist Susan Pace Hamill. Could she be that new force from outside the usual suspects? Why not? MLK Jr. came from Georgia.

Stranger things have happened. Who would have thought that frontier Indian-fighters in the clay hills and swamps of South Carolina would drive proud Cornwallis to defeat at Yorktown, trapped by the weak French fleet? Who would have thought that hanging crazy John Brown in December 1859 would lead to the Emancipation Proclamation less than four years later? Who would have thought McKinley's crushing Bryan in 1896 would lead to the Progressive Movement, or that the anti-Catholic vote of 1928 would lead to the Catholic New Deal, headed by a Hudson Valley Dutch Episcopalian marshalling a bunch of machine politicians turned liberal reformers guided by the ideas of a dead pope, steeped in the ideas of 13-century Thomas Aquinas, student of old Aristotle who was writing before 322 B.C.? Who would have suspected a social revolution in the 1960s led by the rich spoiled son of a Catholic rumrunner? Expect to be surprised, and expect it fairly soon: the calamities of President G.W. Bush and the fumbling of President Obama have opened the doors for a new alignment.

If Southern Baptists are anti-intellectual, is intellectualism the cure? Probably not – a clerisy is a clerisy, whether altar-calling or blue-book grading. Academic economics has fallen for its own kind of doctrinaire fundamentalism, peaking in Milton Friedman and Alan Greenspan, for whom private property and unregulated markets were panaceas. They have dropped distribution of wealth and income, central concerns of classical economics, in favor of the new lodestar of obsessive "growth." Diminishing marginal utility of material stuff is forgotten: more GNP is always better, even when most people are getting less. Intellectuals may sneer at the excesses of primitive preachers, but their own rationality is just an-

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other blind faith: their own independent science is subject to herd manias worthy of lemmings. Even speculation in remote future values is reliable, according to Friedman acolyte Robert Lucas. Flippers and other speculators are guided by "rational expectations," the human equivalent of divine omniscience. This insight is sanctified by the annual *Riksbank* award (aka the Nobel Prize in economics), our own kind of holy incantation, controlled by bankers in Sweden who are not above their own predatory lending to naïfs in less sophisticated new nations of the eastern Baltic.

Some historians would liken this combination of Biblical and free-market fundamentalisms to previous Great Awakenings, but I don't think so. Robert William Fogel's study, *The Fourth Great Awakening and the Future of Egalitarianism*, seems to take this position, and there are parallels, it is true. Paul Johnson sees the Thatcher-Reagan era as "the Recovery of Freedom." What is lacking now is the moral sentiment of Jacques Turgot, Adam Smith, and John Stuart Mill; the egalitarianism of Jefferson, Lincoln, Henry George, the Dutch Roosevelts, and the Irish Kennedys. Someone or something will arise to combine that missing element, social justice, with the moral fervor and righteousness of faith and certainty.

Free-market panaceas and banker deregulation have collapsed in shame and calamity, but nothing has arisen to replace them. Something must and will; but what, and how long must we wait? God moves in a mysterious way, his wonders to perform. My guess is that Mexican Americans, our new despised and feared minority, will take the lead: nothing pulls people together like contempt and persecution. They will ally with a variety of smaller ethnic groups. Where is the new political genius to pull all these disparates together? This leader will appear; many are grasping for the brass ring.

In summary, what can history teach us about religion, economics, and socio-economic reform?

The First Great Awakening led after many years to the American and Jeffersonian Revolutions.

The Second Great Awakening led to the Civil War and Abolition.

The Third Great Awakening led, after setbacks, to the Populist and then Progressive Movements.

The Fourth Great Awakening led to the New Deal.

The Fifth Great Awakening led to the second Reconstruction, the Great Society, Feminism, and social upheavals.

The Sixth Great Awakening is due, and will come from some unexpected quarter. However bleak the outlook today, now and again our better natures prevail. **CP**

Mason Gaffney is professor of Economics at the University of California, Riverside. He has published on resource conservation (timber, water, soils, mining and pumping, air, and urban land), on tax policy, and on leasing public lands, winning and losing battles on behalf of common rights to resource rents, and how to reconcile such rights with economic efficiency. He has observed and published on the cyclical rise and fall of idealism, integrity and objectivity in economic thinking, and the interplay of religious idealism with economists' attitudes and findings. He can be reached at m.gaffney@dslextreme.com

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